1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

411 [793] [794] **Weapons.**—The *Carajá* use bows and arrows (pls. 20, *bottom, left;* 21, *left* and *center*), and their mythology indicates aboriginal use of the spear thrower for hunting monkeys. Recently, they have used a spear thrower of the upper Xingú River type for sport.

323 **Pottery.**—Pottery vessels include several forms of plain ware (fig. 20).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

611 [428] The kinship structure may be described as double descent. Both lines are important, the greater emphasis falling on the mother's line, and both lines serve different functions. Village citizenship, adoption, and the closest affectional ties are reckoned in the mother's line. Moiety membership and the offices of chief, priest, and food-divider are patrilineally inherited.

621 622 [562] [477] The fundamental unit of social organization is the village. Every village has one or more ioló, children of chiefly line, designated by the chief for preferential treatment by the members of the village. The chief names the ioló who is to succeed him or, if he fails to do so, the village makes the choice at his death. Girls of chiefly line are similarly chosen for preferential treatment; each of them is known as the "hidden woman." There is some indication that women functioned as chiefs in former times, but today there is no woman chief. The chief has no coercive powers but directs the village by recognizing the will of the majority in such matters as the selection of camp and garden sites and the announcement of a move at change of season. His principal function is to act as peacemaker, and people readily submit to his adjudication. Because of the importance of religious ceremonials, the priest and the shaman frequently exercise more authority than the chief. When all three offices are vested in a single individual, his authority may be considerable, but it is kept in check by the right of a discontented person to move at any time to another village.

59 [591] [592] Within the village the important unit is the household. Residence being matrilocal, a household consists of sisters, their husbands, children, and the husbands of grown daughters. Marriage is restricted to one's own generation, the preferred mate being a cousin on the mother's side.

[582] [626] There is no sanction but ridicule against wrong marriages, and there are many cases of cross-generational marriage. Marriage is predominantly monogamous, but a few instances of polygyny and one of polyandry were encountered. The avunculate is very important and involves many social and especially ceremonial duties. Cooperation in the household is close and in the village fairly close. In addition, villages are grouped together in ceremonial units, generally consisting of three or four neighboring villages, which celebrate important feasts jointly. This ceremonial unit acts as an insurance group when a village's crop fails or its fish supplies grow scarce. Beyond this, the only intervillage ties

[595] [604]

78 628 [476]

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162 Thus, the migration southward seems to continue to this day,
166 and it seems to have affected the Savajé as well. Apparently the south horde has a bit of Savajé blood in it, which is noticeable above all in the taller build. Today only about one-fifth of the Karajá live south of Bananal, the majority still live in the north horde, but we have seen that in it, too, a trend toward the south is making itself noticeable (4).

[361] 4. A migration from the south horde to the north horde took place long ago; people emigrated from Schischá and settled on the Corrego; this is the village of José (six men, eight women).

●174 Whether this migration to the south is a continuation of an older migration which brought the Karajá to the Araguaya I should like to leave undecided. As is well known, Ehrenreich pointed out many similarities between the Karajá and the Indians of Guiana.
171 Without wishing to pursue these cultural connections further at present, I should like to state, from a comparison of Karajá and Kayapó culture, that the Karajá show very many cultural traits related to the Kayapó, but also harbor a large percentage of foreign /194/ elements that seem to point to the north or northwest. It will remain for later investigations to pursue these cul-
174 tural problems further. The present-day distribution of the Karajá,
13 their confinement to the river valley in a narrow band beyond 8 1/2
648 degrees of latitude in the midst of hostile tribes, especially those
[10] of the Ges /Ge/ family, seems to point to the fact that the Karajá migrated up the Araguaya from the north, breaking up the tribes
648 living here. So far the Karajá have not yet come to an amicable
[199] relationship with the neighboring tribes. Efforts to bring this about were undertaken at Conceição by the mission, but they failed after initial success (1).

[115] 1. The reports, for which I am indebted to a Brazilian near Santa Maria, that the Kayapó and Sambioá meet annually at a particular place on

/295 cont./

286 who make better and, as far as the Tapirapé are concerned, patterned, thicker coverings (1).

1. The net coverings are mentioned for the first time in 1791 among the Šambioá.

● 174 286 114 /296/ Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 12) assumes that the Karajá learned this technique from the Brazilians. Fonseca in 1773 is supposed to have taught weaving to the Šavajé on Bananal. Ehrenreich believes that he can support these statements by the fact that the Šavajé to this day make better coverings. In my opinion this is not a substantiation of this assumption, for the Tapirapé make still better coverings than the Šavajé, and the Karajá bought a great many coverings from them in former, peaceful times. Hence the Karajá could just as well have adopted this technique from the Tapirapé. Now, in the houses of the Tapirapé and at their large fishing sites I found no signs of sleeping places, so I must assume that the Tapirapé sleep in hammocks. It would be peculiar then that the Karajá bought the hammocks (for in shape the coverings are nothing else), but removed the suspension ropes and used the coverings as shawls and blankets. Furthermore, the taffeta-like woven covering which Ehrenreich describes as probably belonging to the Šavajé undoubtedly comes, not from the Šavajé, but from the Tapirapé, for the Šavajé use and make coverings which are exactly like those of the Karajá, whereas the Tapirapé produce the taffeta-like texture. Hence the Karajá, who, of course, live closer to the Tapirapé than the Šavajé and have the role of intermediaries between these two peoples, could not have taken over this texture from the Šavajé. To be sure, Fonseca reports that he built a loom for the Karajá and gave them their first instruction in weaving (Rev. trim. 8, p. 387). It seems to me that this note more likely refers to the making of the girls' belts and the dance belts, which actually show a sort of weaving. The technique by which the coverings are made is not weaving, but knotting, and it is a purely

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174 286 Indian technique, which we find distributed over a large part of South America. Finally, in the creation myth the woman is shown by the Urubu-re how the net coverings are made. In the myth, the Urubu-re teaches the Indians to become familiar with the textile plants, with spinning and the making of the net coverings, and the manufacture and use of bows and arrows. This points to the fact that this technique has been familiar to the Karajá since ancient times. Hence I believe that it is an ancient art which the Karajá brought along from their former home north or northwest of their present-day territory, where they probably used hammocks. In their present territory they have adopted another way of sleeping, perhaps under the influence of the surrounding Ge peoples. Indeed, their entire culture shows a strong impact by elements of the Ge cultures. The Karajá proper have gradually lost the method of manufacture, for, with the iron goods bartered from the Brazilians, they were able to barter for good coverings from their neighbors without any trouble. That is why their technique is so poor today and that of the Šavajé, who still live untouched by civilization, so much better.

286 A similar, but smaller apparatus is used for making the dance belts and girls' belts and the forehead bands. The warp, in contrast to the net covers, /297/ is stretched continuously between the short rods of an elongated cane frame (Ill. 146). On one apparatus a bow and a lance took the place of the long side rods (Ill. 147). The frame is kept horizontal or slightly sloping upward. The warp threads are picked up with the hand, and the weft is drawn through with the hand, a toilsome task, especially in the case of the dance belts, which are patterned in black and white. /Ills. 146-148 appear here./ The weft consists of only one thread, with which one warp thread after the other is picked up. This type of plaiting is already very close to weaving.